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THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1908

Being Chapters XLVII-L of
A History of the United States
for Schools

BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.
AND
CALVIN NOYES KENDALL, LL.D.

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO
The Riverside Press Cambridge

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CHAPTER XLVII

TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY: THE INSURGENT MOVEMENT

421. William Howard Taft. No President of the United States has ever had three terms in office, and Washington (see page 223) urged that two be made the limit. Accordingly President Roosevelt refused to be a candidate for a third time in 1908. He advised, instead, that his friend and Secretary of War, William Howard Taft,[1] of Ohio, be nominated to succeed him. The Democrats for the third time nominated William Jennings Bryan, and in the debate that followed each party told the people that it would try to carry out the policies of social betterment that had been much discussed since 1900. Mr. Taft was elected, and at once called Congress to meet in special session to fulfill the pledges.

Copyright, 1908, by Moffett Studio
WILLIAM H. TAFT

422. The tariff is revised. There were some differences of opinion among the Republicans as to how to revise the tariff. Most of those who lived in the Eastern States,

[1] William H. Taft was born in Ohio in 1857, graduated from Yale University in 1878, and began life as a lawyer in Cincinnati. Before being elected president he was judge in Ohio (1887–90), a solicitor-general of the United States (1890–92), a United States circuit judge (1892–1900), president of the United States Philippine Commission (1900–04), and Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's Cabinet (1904–08). While in the last-named office he adjusted the Cuban insurrection, was for a time provisional governor of that island, and went around the world on various duties connected with the Federal Government. After leaving the White House he became a professor of law in Yale University, and in 1918 reëntered the service of the Government as head of the National War Labor Board which is engaged in adjusting labor disputes.

©CLA515[illegible]
MAR 24 1919

where the great factories are, were content with the Dingley bill as it was (see page 437). But in some of the Western States, where many Republicans were farmers, they thought the high tariff made prices high, and wanted the rates reduced. President Taft did not try to make Congress pass his own kind of a tariff, but waited until Congress had done its work in August and then signed what was called the Payne-Aldrich tariff. By this time the discontented Western Republicans were complaining because the rates of duties were not being lowered and were saying that the high tariff Republicans were reactionary, or "stand pat," and favored the trusts.

Courtesy, International Harvester Co.

TRACTOR ENGINE, DRAWING PLOUGHS

Gasoline engines are used not only in ploughing, but also for supplying power for harvesting and haying machines, and for all farm uses. Formerly horses or oxen were used

423. The Insurgents. A few of the discontented Republicans were so open in fighting the Payne-Aldrich tariff that they were called Insurgents, and as the Insurgents they steadily opposed President Taft from this time. In 1910 the Insurgents and Democrats, voting together, were able to defeat Republican bills, and in the fall elections of that year the quarrel in the Republican party made it possible for the Democrats to elect a majority of the House of Representatives, — for the first time since 1892. In the new Congress, that met in 1911, Champ Clark, of Missouri, a Democrat, was chosen Speaker.

424. The progressive measures. The chief demands of the Insurgents were for changes in the machinery of government so as to let the people more truly rule themselves. They claimed that the party caucus and nominating con-

vention made it possible for corrupt bosses to control them and to defy the people's will; and that the courts were too conservative and too willing to declare progressive laws unconstitutional and void. Sometimes the courts declared void laws limiting the hours of labor on the ground that such limits interfered with the right of free contract; in this they failed to recognize the fact that in modern industry the workman must take his job as it is, and has no right of free contract except to accept the job as offered or go without work.

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A COMBINED REAPING AND THRESHING MACHINE

The earliest reaping machine was drawn by two horses. In those days threshing was done with flails, after the grain had been taken to the barns

425. Election reforms. The last great victory for popular government, the Australian ballot, had made it possible for every man to vote in secrecy as he pleased without fear of punishment because of his vote. Now the *short ballot* was asked for, so as to reduce the number of individual candidates to be voted for, and make it possible for the voter to know something about each of them. The *initiative* was now advocated, — a measure allowing citizens by petition to start or initiate a new law. The *referendum* was a means of determining upon the final passage of a law by popular vote. It had long been used in the adoption of State constitutions, or local debts, or prohibition, and was next to be extended to general laws. The *recall* was a method of removing from office by popular referendum officials who had behaved badly and so had lost the

confidence of the people. Some wanted the *recall* to extend even to unpopular decisions of the courts. The *direct primary* was to be a new method of nominating officers. It was to be in substance a preliminary election with the party, protected by law, as the result of which candidates to represent the party in the final election were to be chosen. The candidates at the primary were to be selected by the petitions of their friends. The *corrupt practices act* was a law to punish candidates who spent too much money upon their election or who used unfair or dishonest methods. All of these mechanical reforms were popular among progressive citizens as well as among the Insurgents.

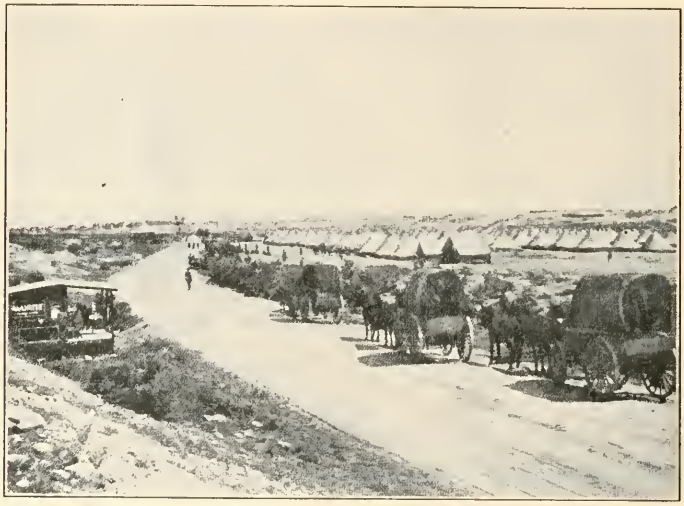
426. Peace and reciprocity. President Taft was deeply interested in maintaining friendly relations with all the world. During 1911 he tried in various ways to make peace more secure.

(*a*) He arranged an agreement for reciprocity with Canada, by which certain products of Canada would be admitted freely into the United States in return for similar treatment of American goods going into Canada.

(*b*) He also negotiated with England a treaty for the arbitration of any causes which might arise in the future, thus advancing the policy of peaceful settlement of disputes in which the Geneva arbitration (see page 403) is so great an example. The first of these, reciprocity, was rejected by Canada; the second, arbitration, by the United States Senate. But President Taft was more successful in ending the old difficulty with England over the Newfoundland Fisheries, and in reaching a friendly agreement with Japan concerning the immigration of Japanese into the United States.

427. Mexico in trouble. The United States does not protect its frontiers with forts, and expects to live in peace with all its neighbors. This fact made it difficult to protect the people in Texas when, in 1911, a civil war broke out in Mexico, and the rebels sometimes crossed the Rio Grande into the United States, robbing and murdering

peaceful American citizens. General Porfirio Diaz, who had been president of Mexico for nearly thirty-five years, and who protected private property while exploiting the national resources, was driven out of the country by Francisco Madero, who succeeded to his position. Ma-

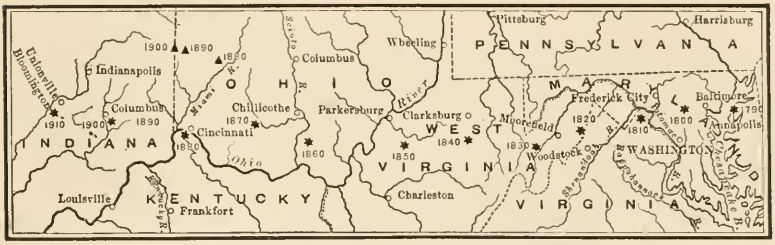


AN ARMY ENCAMPMENT NEAR THE MEXICAN FRONTIER

dero claimed to be trying to improve the position of the plain farmers, who are generally part Indian in blood, and entirely uneducated; but he was not able to keep law and order. To protect Texas and to prevent bad Americans from aiding in the Mexican revolt, President Taft stationed a large part of the army along the border; but he refused to profit by Mexico's trouble or to invade the country. Early in 1913, Madero was murdered, and succeeded by General Huerta, whom many believed to have been his murderer.

428. **The forty-eighth star.** During Taft's administration the forty-seventh and forty-eighth stars were added to the American flag. The old policy of making states out

of territories was completed. Most of the States of the mountain region had been admitted in 1889–90 (North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, and Washington). Utah, the forty-fifth, had followed in 1896. Oklahoma had come in 1907. The only two territories remaining after the admission of Oklahoma, were New Mexico and Arizona. These territories had gained in population slowly because so much of their land was dry and barren. Now, at last, New Mexico in 1911 and Arizona in 1912, completed the process of making free states out of free people. The habit of the frontier to be more extreme



THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT, 1790–1910

. ✻ Center of population; ▲ center of manufactures

in its democracy than the rest of the country was shown in the case of Arizona. Because of an article in the constitution of this State providing for the recall of Judges, President Taft was unwilling to have the State admitted to the Union. Accordingly the people of Arizona withdrew the offending article until after their admission; whereupon they amended the constitution to restore it. In Oklahoma the new State proceeded to provide for a State guarantee of the safety of money deposited in banks. A century earlier the Western States had showed their liberalism by removing the restrictions upon the right to vote.

429. Labor and capital. The last year of Taft's administration was marked by a great strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, that showed how all the progress of the last gen-

eration had left the relations of the worker to his employer still unsatisfactory. Organization of labor in unions increased steadily after the Civil War. The greatest of the national unions were the Knights of Labor (1869), a secret society at first; and the American Federation of Labor (1881), which was made up of local labor organizations. These worked for the right of workmen to belong to unions and to strike to improve their conditions; and urged upon Congress and State legislatures the passage of laws limiting the hours of regulating the conditions of labor. They

A GREAT STEEL PLANT

were hampered in the work by the excesses of the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World, who came later and taught that workmen need not obey the law, and that *sabotage* or deliberate injury to the employer's property was a proper means of enforcing their demands. The strike at Lawrence brought out in sharp and alarming clearness the revolutionary character of the radical leaders and the need for an honest study of the problems of labor.

430. **"Unscrambling" the trusts.** "Big business" was in as much trouble as labor was. The greed and unscrupulousness of some of its "captains of industry" aroused the fear and distrust of the people. President Roosevelt, in 1902, started suit against one of the greatest of the rail-

road combinations, the Northern Securities Company, and succeeded in breaking it up. Later Government prosecutions attacked similarly the Standard Oil Co. and the Steel Corporation, as well as many lesser trusts. Some of these were dissolved. But it began to be seen that punishment was not the best way to regulate business; that the bad part of the trust was not so much its existence as its evil behavior; and that laws to correct the behavior of business concerns ought to be passed. One of the great trust magnates had asked of the "trust busters": "Can you unscramble eggs?" The answer seemed to be that the eggs, or trusts, *could* be unscrambled, but that it was better to cook them right at first.

431. The Progressive party. The split in the Republican party became wider as the election of 1912 drew nearer. President Taft wished to be renominated, and had the support of the "stand-pat" element in the party. The Insurgents opposed his nomination, and began in 1911 to call themselves Progressive Republicans. They wanted one of their number to be the candidate. Others in the party feared that after the defeat in Congress in 1910 neither Taft nor any Progressive could be elected, and accordingly hoped that ex-President Roosevelt could be induced to be a candidate. Roosevelt had gone to Africa on a hunting-trip after 1909, and then to Europe to lecture in 1910. He had supported the progressive measures of the Insurgents after his return. People who opposed him insisted that no man ought to have a third term; his friends said the objection was only to a third *consecutive* term. In February, 1912, he announced himself as a candidate for the nomination; but the Republican National convention renominated Taft. Upon this, the Progressive Republicans held a convention of their own, formed the Progressive party, and nominated Colonel Roosevelt.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What are the two main positions taken to-day in regard to the tariff?
2. Compare the Insurgents of 1910 with the founders of the Republican party.
3. Locate New Mexico and Arizona on the map. What States were not first organized as territories, as a preliminary to admission to the Union? (Refer to Appendix C.)
4. Compare President Taft's treatment of Mexico and President Polk's.

COMPOSITION SUBJECTS

1. Imagine that Thomas Jefferson attended President Taft's inauguration. Write the conversation that might have taken place between him and Mr. Taft.
2. Describe an imaginary trip with President Taft to the Philippine Islands.
3. Imagine you were an American living in Mexico during the revolution in 1910–11. Tell of your experiences.

CHAPTER XLVIII

WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION: SOCIAL PROGRESS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR: TARIFF, TRUSTS, AND FINANCE: THE MONROE DOCTRINE

432. Woodrow Wilson. The Republican split gave the Democrats their chance. Mr. Bryan, who had been defeated three times (in 1896, 1900, and 1908) was not a candidate himself, but was able to prevent the nomination of any one of whom he disapproved. After a long fight, in which the friends of the various candidates stuck stubbornly to their choice, the party chose Governor Woodrow Wilson.[1] Their platform included many of the progressive measures that the Insurgents had wanted, and included also a demand that the Payne-Aldrich tariff be revised. In the resulting canvass Mr. Wilson received a huge majority electoral vote, because the Republican vote was divided. He had more popular votes than either Roosevelt or Taft, but had only a minority of all. The Socialist party cast nearly a million votes in this election, becoming for the first time an important national party.[2]

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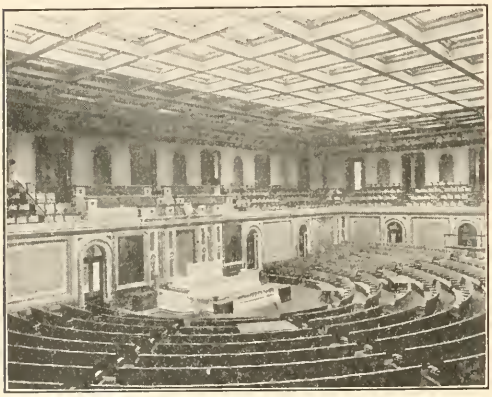
WOODROW WILSON

[1] Woodrow Wilson was born in Virginia in 1856. He was graduated at Princeton University in 1879; studied history and politics at Johns Hopkins University, 1883–85; practiced law at Atlanta, Georgia; he was a professor in Bryn Mawr College, 1886–88; in Wesleyan University; in Princeton University, 1890–1902; president of Princeton, 1902–10; and governor of New Jersey, 1911–13; holding this office when elected President of the United States.

[2] The Socialist party received 895,000 votes in this election. It had been growing rapidly since the Spanish War, receiving in 1900, 94,000 votes; in 1904, 402,000; in 1908, 420,000. It had always been managed largely by

433. Changes in Congress and the Constitution. President Wilson was inaugurated on March 4, 1913. A few days later he met Congress, which he had called to revise the tariff. He read his message to it himself, the first President since Jefferson to do so. It had become the custom for Presidents to send long messages in writing, but Mr. Wilson now began a habit of making them brief and to the point, and reading the more important messages in person. The Constitution too was changing. There had been no new amendments since the close of the Civil War, when the slavery amendments were adopted. Among the earliest acts of Secretary of State Bryan, in 1913, was his proclamation that a sixteenth amendment, giving Congress power to lay a tax on incomes, and a seventeenth providing for the direct election of senators, had been approved by the required three fourths of the States, and were in force.



THE UNITED STATES HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES

Showing the new arrangement of seats. In the old arrangement each representative had his private desk. Members now do their personal business in their offices in the Senate and House office buildings

434. The Changing World, Aircraft and Motors. The world that Lincoln knew had shrunk since the days of Washington, and people then told themselves that the railroad and the electric telegraph had changed the face of things. Before Wilson was inaugurated the world narrowed

German-Americans, and after the outbreak of war in 1917 it placed itself on record as opposed to the war. Many of its strongest loyal members, including Benson, its presidential nominee in 1916, resigned from it after this, and the influence of the party was weakened.

still more.[1] The amount of work that one man could do was multiplied.[2] The reaper, that Cyrus McCormick had begun to make before the Civil War, had brought the great West under cultivation. The sewing-machine of Howe, and the shoe-machine of McKay, had made new industries possible. The telephone of Bell was patented in 1876, and made instant communication possible in the country as well as in the towns. The electric light as well as the electric street car and the bicycle came along in the eighties, and in the nineties inventors began to experiment with "horseless carriages," or motor cars.[3] These, convenient, cheap, and reliable, multiplied by millions before 1913, and the gas-engine

Photograph by Brown Brothers

COMMANDER PEARY

Who discovered the North Pole

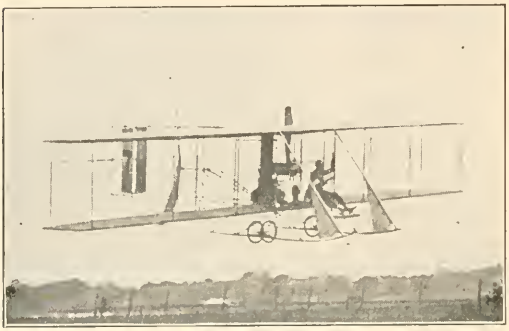
[1] Commander Robert E. Peary discovered the North Pole on April 6, 1909. For three hundred years courageous explorers had tried to push across the great waste region of ice and snow to reach that goal. Peary had been working at it for a quarter of a century. His achievement was rewarded by Congress, which made him a Rear Admiral, and by learned societies all over the world that granted him medals and diplomas. Admiral Peary has of late years led in the campaign for the development of the American air-plane service.

On December 14, 1911, Captain Roald Amundsen, of Norway, reached the South Pole. Nearly the whole world is now known to its inhabitants.

[2] In September, 1909, New York celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the navigation of the Hudson River by Fulton's steamboat, as well as the three hundredth anniversary of Henry Hudson, the discoverer of the river.

[3] The first automobile show in America was held in New York in 1900. To-day the millions of motor-cars in use make possible living in the suburbs, taking easy pleasure trips, and extend the limit of business in every direction. Some of the factories can make as many as half a million cars in a single year.

that drove them was modified so as to drive airships. The successful airplanes of the Wright brothers gave the United States another great invention,[1] about 1905; and in less than five years more a daring Frenchman had flown across the English Channel from France to England. An Italian, Marconi, added wireless telegraphy, and Americans, Simon Lake and J. P. Holland, built submarine ships.



A WRIGHT BIPLANE

Compare with the war-balloon, page 371

435. Social progress. The great inventions, and the prosperity of America brought about the growth of large cities, most of whose inhabitants were engaged in work at the various industries, and many of whom were poor. City government had not improved in quality with the growth of the cities, and reforms in housing, lighting, sewage, water-supply, and education engaged the attention of public-spirited people. In some years more than a million immigrants had come to the United States, drawn by our free institutions, and by the better chances for themselves and their children that existed here. Because these could speak little English they were easily imposed upon. Some of their selfish leaders even tried to keep alive their old language at school, at

[1] In the year 1900 the Wright brothers, of Dayton, Ohio, began air-gliding. In 1903 they added a gasoline engine to their glider and thus converted it into a heavier-than-air flying-machine; but it was not until 1908 that they were ready to make exhibition flights. Other adventurous inventors were experimenting with dirigible balloons. Airplanes are now used by all the armies. The United States designed in 1917 a new high power engine for its war airplane, known as the Liberty Motor. An airplane mail service between New York and Washington and later between New York and Boston was started in 1918.

church, and in their newspapers. To help them, in the crowded slums where many of them lived, settlements had been opened. Jane Addams founded Hull House in Chicago in 1889, and similar centers of Americanism multiplied. Schools began to give manual training. High schools and colleges flourished, so that by 1913 there was no country in the world where ordinary people had so good a start toward success in life. Drunkenness, which had always

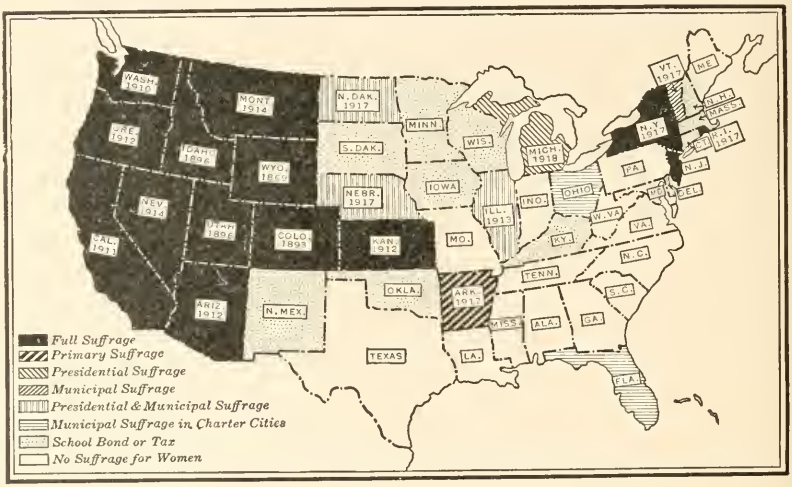
A MODERN LOCOMOTIVE

Length, 120 feet; weight, 425 tons. This is one of the oil-burning freight locomotives built by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad. Compare with the earliest locomotives, page 266

been the plague of the poor, was decreasing. State after State, and county after county under local option, were adopting prohibition. In 1917 Congress adopted a national amendment for prohibition, and sent it out to the States for ratification.

436. What the people thought. The religion, literature, and pleasures of the people show what they really are. The United States, with 91,972,266 inhabitants in 1910 (see table, appendix, page xx), was simple and clean in its amusements, and had ideals that it was not ashamed to show. President Roosevelt's demand for a "square deal" for every one expressed the desire of a nation that loved clean sport and hated a cheat. The great churches that were being built, from the massive cathedrals in New York, to humble missions in little towns, measured an interest in things of the spirit that prosperity had not lessened. Cheap and good magazines, and newspapers that were nearly as good, provided literature for the millions, less artistic than the best, but so far above the ordinary that most of its readers profited by it. The day of Longfellow and Lowell, Haw-

thorne and Cooper, had changed into a new day of Clemens (Mark Twain) and Howells and O. Henry. Throughout the literature and religion ran unceasingly the old American ideals of real democracy. Even the moving pictures, which had become more popular than the theater had ever been, expressed these same notions of democracy, and their reels spread into every section of the nation the views and ideas of all the rest.



WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

437. Shall women vote? New interest in the welfare of children, and foreign immigrants, and the poor, extended also to women who were at work. Factory laws, to protect them from injury and disease, and liability laws, to ensure them proper treatment when injured while at work, were passed by many States. These laws helped raise the question of the vote. When the United States began not even all men could vote. But every time a new State was made in the West the limitations were removed, By the end of the century religious tests and property tests had entirely disappeared, and all American men of twenty-one had gained

the right to vote. In Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho the women had received the same right. Some of them had been asking for it for a long time in other States, and about 1905 the demand was made again, every year with greater force. Most of the Progressives, and many Republicans and Democrats supported the movement for woman suffrage. Other Western States granted it to them, until by 1918 women could vote for President in eighteen States, and President Wilson had urged Congress to pass a new amendment to the Constitution, extending the right over the whole country.

438. The Underwood tariff. Tariff reduction was the first thing the Democrats had promised to bring about. Under President Wilson's leadership, and at his actual direction, Congress passed a new law in 1913. This law increased the number of articles that could be imported without paying a duty, and included a tax upon incomes which had been authorized by the sixteenth amendment. There is no fairer way of taxing than to make each citizen contribute to the support of the Government according to his earnings or income. Most other countries had adopted income taxes before we did.

439. The federal reserve banks. Congress next set to work upon the banking system. It is the business of banks to take care of money deposited by them, and to lend money or credit to people who are known to be honest and reliable. All men in business have to borrow from the banks; and if the supply of money to be loaned them gives out, there may be a financial panic. Sometimes this supply gives out in one State when there is plenty of money in the next State, but we had never had a banking system that was *flexible*, or able quickly to shift credit to the places where it was needed most. The great panic of 1893, and a smaller panic in 1907, showed how great was the need for financial reform. Under the new federal reserve system, adopted in 1913, the country is divided into twelve districts, in each of which there is a federal reserve bank, with which all the

local banks may have business dealings. And through these reserve banks our money and credit have been made flexible enough to meet our needs.

440. The trusts and the Federal Trade Commission. The trusts are great business concerns that are able to control the prices of the things they sell, and are sometimes able to bribe members of legislatures in order to get special favors for themselves. Their existence had been noticed for thirty years; but no one knew just what to do with them. The Progressives had demanded trust control in 1912, and every one approved when Congress passed in 1914 a new law forbidding unfair practices in business, and another creating a Federal Trade Commission to study and control big business. With the tariff reduced, and the banks reorganized, and the trusts curbed, it seemed by the summer of 1914 as if the people of the United States might hope for a long period of peace, happiness, and prosperity.

441. The new Monroe Doctrine. Mexico was still disturbed by her revolution, and General Huerta was unable to restore order; and injury to American property in Mexico, or to Americans along the border in Texas, was great. Some Americans thought the United States ought to intervene in Mexico with an army, restore order, and "clean up" the country. Many of the people in Mexico feared that the United States would take advantage of her trouble and use the superior strength of a great nation to conquer her. To reassure these, the President announced in 1913 that "the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." And he insisted that Mexico must be allowed to solve her own problems without interference. In 1914 and again in 1916 there were invasions of Mexico by the United States, but only for the purpose of protection; and the troops concerned were soon withdrawn. This course gave a new appearance to the famous Monroe Doctrine (see page 261), and indicated that the United States would not claim for itself things that it forbade European countries to try to do. It meant that the American republics were safe from conquest.

442. The Panama Canal and the Exposition. The approaching completion of the Panama Canal gave new importance to the relations between the United States and its neighbors. President Wilson insisted that the canal must be opened on equal terms to all. In 1914 it was announced that the great locks were done, the cuts were dug, and on August 15 the canal was to be opened to the world. In celebration of this a great world's fair was held in San Francisco, in 1915, and the President promised to go himself, and to let the procession of battleships be headed by the old Oregon whose gallant voyage around South America in 1898 had shown the real need of the canal. But he could not keep the promise, for before 1914 was over the prosperity, the ideals, and even the existence of our country were at stake.

THE GATUN LOCKS, PANAMA CANAL

By means of a system of great locks the largest ships are raised or lowered over the hills of the Isthmus. The ships are drawn through the locks by electric locomotives that run on tracks along the side of the locks.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Why is a federal reserve banknote a secure form of money? Compare with a silver certificate.
2. Make a list of five trusts.
3. Has your State an income tax? What amounts of income are exempt under the United States income tax?

COMPOSITION SUBJECTS

1. Write a letter telling of your visit to Washington, D.C.
2. Describe a trip to the San Francisco Exposition.
3. Describe a trip in a submarine; in an airplane.
4. Do you think women ought to be allowed to vote? Why?

CHAPTER XLIX

WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION: THE WORLD WAR: THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM AND OURS: PROBLEMS OF NEUTRALITY: GERMAN INTRIGUE

443. The European system and ours. The growth of the United States in wealth, and its peaceful relations with all the world, made a sharp contrast with affairs in Europe where nations were constantly on their guard against each other. After the wars in which Napoleon tried to conquer Europe, ending in his defeat at Waterloo in 1815, various nations kept great armies constantly ready for defense or attack. England, on an island, and with her "wooden walls" around her, had not done this, nor had the little nations. Belgium, indeed, and Luxemburg, were promised by solemn treaties that they should not be attacked. But the great powers maintained large armies, and even adopted the principle of compulsory military training. They forced every man to spend a certain time in the army, and then, when his service was done to go into the reserve, subject to be called back into active service if needed.

444. Prussia. There was a long peace after Napoleon's downfall, and western Europe saw no great war until 1864. Then Prussia and Austria robbed Denmark of her rich provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, and in 1866 Prussia took from Austria the spoils of this earlier attack. In 1870 the rivalry of Germany and France produced an attack by Prussia under her great builder Bismarck, with the result that Alsace and Lorraine were torn from France. Thereafter France kept her armies for protection, and in the hope of regaining her lost provinces. Prussia, organizing the German Empire about herself, made war her glory and ambition her desire. In the race for leadership among nations, fear of Prussia and ambition in Prussia were the leading

motives. There were no unarmed borders like those of the United States.

445. "Der Tag." The professional soldiers of Germany looked to the day when Germany should rule Europe, if not the whole world. They allied themselves with Italy and Austria for the former purpose; the British navy stood between them and the latter. And so the young Kaiser William II, who began his rule in 1888, dug a canal from Kiel on the Baltic to the North Sea, and built a great modern navy to use it; while the officers in his army and on his ships drank toasts to "Der Tag" — the day — when they should meet England and sweep away her strength. No country in the world lacked some imperialists, — men who wanted to gain national power at the expense of weak and inoffensive neighbors, — but only Germany allowed them to rule unchecked. The threat of possible war hung low over Europe after 1900. Once or twice it seemed as if it must fall. But the "dreadnaught" battleships, first built in 1905, were so large that the Kiel Canal had to be enlarged to carry them, and until this was done Germany could not afford to go to war.

446. The attack on Servia. The new Kiel Canal was opened July 1, 1914. Three days earlier the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne gave a pretext for a war. A Servian had done the murder. Servia stood in the road of Austria. On July 5 there seems to have been a conference in Potsdam, at which Germany and Austria agreed that "Der Tag" had come. On July 28 Austria started war on Servia, Russia came to the defense of Servia at once, and Germany invaded Belgium and France to prevent France from aiding Russia. The invasion of Belgium, in spite of the solemn agreement that she should be left neutral, brought England into the war. The flames of warfare that had smouldered for a generation broke into wild conflagration.[1]

[1] Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, became known as the Central Powers, because of their location in central Eu-

447. Neutrality. The United States looked on aghast. Every nation in the war had sent of its sons to America, and these naturally hoped and believed that the fatherland or motherland was right. President Wilson proclaimed at once that the United States would remain neutral in the war, and allowed American ministers abroad to do friendly services for all the countries. Few dreamed that it could affect the United States or that the war was really a beginning of a test of strength between autocratic monarchies and the principle of free government, under which the people rule.

448. Belgium. But as the news from Belgium reached America, people began to see that the nation responsible for what was happening there could not possibly be right. Belgium was attacked in cold blood, in spite of treaties written for the special purpose of defending her, and signed by Germany. Old men and women were shot in the streets of the Belgian towns. Children were murdered. Houses were burned. Able-bodied men and women were carried away into slavery in Germany. And the unoffending Belgians would have starved had not Americans, led by Herbert C. Hoover, formed a society to raise money and to feed the starving. As Americans saw these things a wide opinion formed that Germany had produced the war, and her conduct was a danger to the world. The Government remained neutral, but private opinion made up its own mind.

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HERBERT C. HOOVER

Who organized the relief of Belgium and then returned to administer and save our food.

rope. Great Britain, Russia, and France were the Allies, or the Entente Allies. Entente is a French word meaning understanding; there had been an understanding or informal agreement among these countries as to how they should protect themselves if Germany declared war. They were joined in 1914 by Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Japan; in 1915 by Italy and San Marino; in 1916 by Portugal and Roumania; in 1917 by Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Greece, Liberia, Panama, Siam, and the United States; in 1918 by Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Honduras.

449. The future of peace. American opinion was horrified at the sufferings of little Belgium, and admired the courage with which it refused to yield to the invader, and by its resistance gave England and France time to form their lines and save Paris. But behind it all was the question, — Belgium had been guarded by a general treaty, and the treaty had failed to save her: could the United States or any other peaceful nation continue to rely on promises and good will? In the first year of the war ex-President Taft, and James Bryce, and other distinguished leaders of England and America worked out a scheme for a league of nations to enforce peace and to prevent another war from following this one. Convictions deepened in Great Britain and France that this war must be the last, and that never again must it be possible for a warlike and unscrupulous nation to pick its time and try to rob its neighbors. People began at last to read what German writers had been discussing for many years about German conquest and expansion, the scheme for "Central Europe," and the railroad from Berlin to Bagdad.

450. American defense. The more Americans directed their thoughts to the lesson of Belgium the more clearly they saw that the United States was running a great risk on the chance of peace. There were no forces to be relied upon in case America should be invaded. If the navy should be overpowered by an enemy there were some forts along the coasts, but these were not greater than those that Germany had destroyed in her attack upon Belgium. There was a small regular army, brave and well organized, but not large enough to defend even a single Atlantic seaport. The militia of the States was not uniformly efficient. And the new war was so gigantic that few could say how and where the United States must begin in order to prepare. "Preparedness" became a subject of discussion in 1914 and increased in interest as every few months revealed a new horror of the war.

451. Machinery of modern war. New tools and new

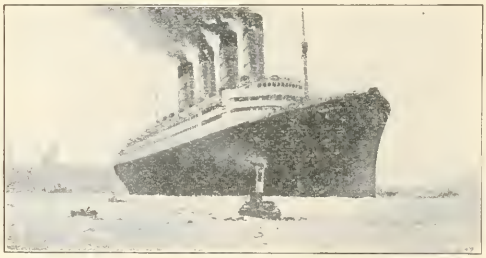
NORWAY
Petrograd
NORTH SEA
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
Moscow
Hamburg
Berlin
GERMANY
Breslau
Cracow
Lemberg
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA HUNGARY
Odessa
SWITZ.
Trieste
Belgrade
RUMA
Constantza
BLACK SEA
Sofia
Constantinople
Rome
ITALY
Salonika
TURKISH EMPIRE
Athens
Konia
Mosul
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MALTA
CYPRUS
Aleppo
Damascus
Baghdad
ALGERIA (French)
Port Said
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Basra
Cairo
Suez
TRIPOLI (Italian)
EGYPT
Assuan
Medina
Wadi Halfa
Mecca
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Khartum
Hodeida
ABYSSINIA
Aden
Gulf of Aden
THE
BERLIN TO BAGDAD RAILWAY
AND
STRATEGIC CONNECTIONS
JAN. 1918
"Middle Europe" and its Annexes
The Entente Powers
Territory occupied by Central Powers
Territory occupied by Entente Powers
GERMANY'S MAIN ROUTE TO EAST
(Berlin-Bagdad, Berlin-Hodeida, Berlin-Cairo-Cape)
Supplementary Routes
Uncompleted sectors

methods were used from the start. Great cannon, of which the rest of Europe had been unaware, were brought out by Germany to blow to fragments the steel and concrete forts of Belgium and France. Airplanes flew over the line of battle to inspect the enemy's country, to drop bombs, and to shoot with machine guns. Machine guns seemed to be more numerous than rifles. Instead of fighting in the open, both armies dug deep trenches from which they fought. In April, 1915, the German army sprung a complete surprise by letting loose a wave of poison gas (chlorine) to stifle the English, and gas warfare became a new terror. The next summer the British invented the "tank," a heavily armored motor-car, that could advance over trenches and through walls and houses, and that cut to pieces the barbed wire network with which the trenches were guarded. The war was one of machinery and inventors; with a magnitude beyond anything Americans could yet conceive.

452. The submarine as a weapon. The airplane and the submarine were the most striking of the new weapons. In September, 1914, a German submarine destroyed with torpedoes three British cruisers on one day, and raised the question of the value of certain types of modern ships. The German navy had mostly remained at home in safety, leaving the British fleet in control of the oceans. But von Tirpitz, head of the German navy, was determined to use the submarine to terrorize Great Britain if he could, and in February, 1915, it was announced that British merchantmen would be sunk in the waters around the British Isles.

453. Blockades and neutrals. The United States and the other neutral countries had of course been inconvenienced by the Great War. Their commerce had been interfered with. Each of the warring powers tried to stop supplies to its enemy, and neutrals suffered. The law of nations permits neutrals to trade with countries at war, but allows the fighting nations—the belligerents—(1) to stop contraband of war, such as weapons, ammunition, and materials for making them, bound for the enemy, (2) to search

neutral vessels to see if they are carrying aid to the enemy, and (3) to declare a blockade of the enemy coast and seize any vessel trying to pass through the blockade. The blockade must be real and thorough, such as the United States stretched around the Confederacy, but all powers recognize its legality. Since Great Britain kept the German fleet at home, it was England, and only England that interfered with neutral trade. Often we felt that the interference was unfair, but the search and seizures were carried on with directness and care, no lives were lost, and all claims for unjust treatment were given prompt attention. What grievances there were because the Allies' practice of the laws of war were inconvenient, were soon silenced by the great outrage inflicted by Germany.



THE LUSITANIA

454. The Lusitania. The German submarine blockade of England began in February, 1915. President Wilson protested against it immediately, calling attention to the fact that no submarine could lawfully observe the laws of war. It could not safeguard the lives of passengers on merchant ships, it could not carry out the search, it could not spare prize crews to take captured vessels to port. He warned Germany that she would be held to "strict accountability" if any lives were taken as result of this new variety of naval warfare. On May 7 the German threat was carried out in all completeness. The great liner Lusitania, one of the fastest and finest ships afloat, was torpedoed and sunk without warning while on a voyage from the United States to England, and more than a thousand innocent men, women, and children were drowned. Among these were 114 American citizens whose lives were thus taken by

Germany, which was professing to be at peace with the United States, and whose subjects, by millions, had sought in America a happiness and prosperity denied them at home. A wave of horror swept around the world, and most real Americans who had not been convinced upon the merits of the war by the destruction of Belgium, now saw Germany in a new and ghastly light.

455. Preparedness. The indignant protest against the murder of the Americans on the Lusitania was met with falsehood and evasion. First it was falsely asserted that the Lusitania was secretly armed; then it was claimed that Germany had a right to retaliate upon England even though retaliation involved the rights and lives of neutrals. To all of this the President replied with the demand that such conduct cease; he began to see, as his country began to see, that the war had become universal and that upon its outcome depended the future of the world. There was just a chance that Germany would check her course short of forcing the United States to war. But in order to be ready for what might come, on the day that the last note was written about the Lusitania President Wilson called upon his secretaries of war and the navy for advice upon preparedness. It was not to be moderate preparedness but complete; the kind of preparedness that would permit the country if it must, to bring its whole power into the war for its defense.

456. The navy stands ready. The navy, always the first line of American defense, was ready for action. It is impossible to build warships quickly, and therefore the naval strength of a country cannot be greatly increased after the outbreak of a war, unless the war is prolonged. Our navy had been watched and loved even in time of peace. The voyage around the world (see p. 458) had shown the skill of its officers and men, and many new battleships had been added since 1909. Admiral Dewey, who had been its chief officer since his promotion after the battle of Manila Bay, assured the people that the navy was ready for instant serv-

ice. Under wise administration it had become a training-school for character, and its enlisted men were more numerous than ever before. In 1915 Congress created the new office of Chief of Naval Operations to make it easier to use the navy as a fighting machine. The next summer, as a result of the President's demand for great preparedness, the largest single appropriation ever made was voted by Congress for new ships and equipment. The President was resolved to keep the peace if he could, but to be ready if war must come.

457. **The National Defense Act.** The navy required only an increase of men and ships; the army called for complete change of method and organization. In every earlier war we had relied chiefly upon volunteer soldiers, and we had never learned that it would be impossible to meet a real enemy with these, for never had we faced a modern, well-organized enemy. In the Civil War both sides lost two years in training men and leaders; in the Spanish War we tried to raise an army quickly, only to see men die by thousands of unnecessary disease because their officers did not know how to protect them. Since the Spanish War much had been learned. The medical corps had learned how to prevent yellow fever. Typhoid fever, malaria, and diphtheria had ceased to be dangerous, if properly watched. In Roosevelt's administration a General Staff had been created to direct the army, and to make plans for its development. In 1916, under the pressure for preparedness the National Defense Act was passed, carrying an increase in the regular army, a new arrangement for the militia, or national guard, and, most important, a provision for training young officers. It takes fifty thousand officers to command a million men; to train these a system of camps and a course of study were provided; the evils resulting from untrained volunteer officers were to be avoided in the next war, and professional soldiers were to direct the work.

458. **Intrigue and sedition.** Germany watched with fear the change in American opinion, the growing hostility

among the American people, and the new willingness to make sacrifices for a real preparedness. For many years she had believed that the millions of former Germans in the United States would prevent any interference with her plans from us. She had encouraged such organizations as the German-American National Alliance to keep up the use of the German language, and their leaders to talk about the virtues of German *kultur*. Upon the outbreak of the war her agents in America began to hire men to blow up bridges in Canada, to destroy factories in America making guns and ammunition, and to incite workmen to strike in such factories. These things were proved in courts of law.

459. Mexico. It was also whispered that Germans in America would be armed to raise revolt if the United States interfered. In Mexico she tried to spread distrust of the United States; so also in South America. Her ambassador in Washington, Count von Bernstorff, talked of using money to influence Congress itself. Many of the citizens whom she used for these criminal purposes were only ignorant; a few were willing to turn traitor to the land that had held open to them the door of opportunity. During 1915 and 1916 intrigue and sedition ran high among "hyphenated" Americans — those whose love was for another country than their own.

460. Villa on the border. In the midst of all the great preparations for defense, Mexico continued in a state of revolution. Huerta had been driven out of power in 1914; after him Carranza gained the power, and Villa contested for it. Damage and destruction of American lives and property continued. German intrigue among Mexicans and other Spanish-Americans had spread so much distrust of the United States that an attempt to help Mexico might have been regarded as the beginning of conquest. So President Wilson continued his policy of patient self-restraint, or "watchful waiting" hoping that Mexico would save herself. In the spring of 1916 he sent an army into northern Mexico to suppress the bandit Villa, but brought it

back home the following winter. All the time Germany is now known to have been conspiring to provoke war there, either to tie the hands of the United States or to arouse suspicion of American motives. Early in 1917 she offered to help Mexico conquer Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona in the event of war.

461. The Sussex. While President Wilson was watchfully waiting for peace in Mexico, he was patiently hoping that Germany would refrain from forcing us to war. After sinking of the Lusitania, the submarines avoided the drowning of Americans, and in the fall of 1915 there was room for hope that the wiser counsels would prevail. But in 1916 the Sussex was sunk without warning in the English Channel, and the President declared at once that unless Germany pledged herself to stop this sort of murder he would break off all relations with her. Germany did not believe the United States would or could fight, and still relied upon hyphenated Americans to keep us helpless, but she gave the pledge, and for a few more months peace remained possible. But the plans for preparedness continued during 1916, and on the very day of the Sussex ultimatum the United States seized the papers of a German spy, von Igel, which proved the nature of her secret conspiracy to tie our hands.

462. The reëlection of Wilson. American opinion had supported the President in his efforts to maintain our neutrality, and had gradually awakened to the need for preparedness while still holding to the hope that war might be avoided. Business, which had suffered greatly in the first year of the war, improved in 1915, and there was no desire among the Democrats to select any other candidate in the election than President Wilson. He had "kept us out of war," and they believed that if possible he would continue to do so. He had also sternly resisted every call for a war with Mexico. The Republicans tried to heal the breach with the Progressives. Judge Charles Evans Hughes became their candidate upon a platform of

complete preparedness and "undiluted Americanism." [1] But in the canvass he was greatly weakened by receiving the support of the organized hyphenated German-Americans, who did not care for him, but who wanted to punish President Wilson for his refusal to grant special favors to Germany. The election was close, but when the votes were counted it was seen that Mr. Wilson had been re-elected because of the strong support which the plain people of the West gave to his policies. He failed to carry the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois, yet received both popular and electoral majorities. The center of population had shifted in one hundred and twenty years, from near Baltimore to the vicinity of Indianapolis. It seemed from this election as if the center of political influence had shifted as well. Here in the Middle West there were fewer huge cities than in the East, and fewer groups of unassimilated foreigners. The fundamentals of Americanism were here most widely prevalent, and now they asserted

Photograph by Paul Thompson

RHEIMS CATHEDRAL

One of the glories of Gothic art until the Germans deliberately bombarded it

[1] Charles Evans Hughes was born in New York in 1862, and first came to be well known in 1905 as counsel in the New York insurance investigation, where he showed strength of character and skill in extracting the truth about the mismanagement of the insurance companies. He was elected governor of New York in 1906 and again in 1908, after having been suggested for the Presidency of the United States in 1908. In 1910 President Taft appointed him associate justice of the Supreme Court, which position he resigned June 10, 1916, the day he was nominated for the Presidency. After his defeat in November he returned to the practice of law in New York. In May, 1918, at the request of President Wilson he undertook an investigation of the charges of mismanagement in the production of airplanes for the army.

themselves in the national crisis, speaking for peace, if possible, but for a peace without hyphenated interference.

463. The program of peace. Once reëlected President Wilson took steps to end the period of uncertainty. In December he called upon all the nations at war to state their aims, so that the neutral world might know which of them were fighting for worthy purposes. The Allies replied with definite statements, but Germany and her associates, — the Central Powers, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, — were unwilling to disclose their aims. In January the President announced that the United States was ready to enter into a league to maintain the peace, and to extend to innocent nations in all the world the same guarantees that the Monroe Doctrine had long preserved in America, and that recently the United States had observed in the case of Mexico. It was becoming clear that the peace which the United States longed for could not be obtained without fighting for it.

Photograph by Paul Thompson

WITHIN RHEIMS CATHEDRAL
After bombardment

464. German defiance. The military autocracy in Germany that had provoked the war for its own purposes, and that foresaw a revolution against the Hohenzollerns should it not win the war, took no warning from the events in the United States. On February 1, 1917, it started a policy of sinking, without warning, merchant ships of whatever nationality, in the waters around England; and continued to defend its submarine piracy on the ground of "military necessity" and retaliation. This was a repudiation of the

pledge given after the Sussex case, and when it was announced President Wilson at once dismissed the German ambassador, von Bernstorff, and met Congress to tell it of his course. A wave of patriotic devotion spread across the country, with only here and there an unimportant obstruction, for the patience and moderation of the American Government had given the people time to realize the issues at stake. Even among the former Germans and Austrians, with whom Germany had tried to conspire, the spirit was generally one of unity and loyalty.[1]

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Why did Washington wish to avoid "entangling alliances"?
2. What were the Hague Conferences?
3. How did your State vote in 1916?
4. In what ways has the European War affected the United States?

COMPOSITION SUBJECTS

1. Why should the United States join a league of nations to enforce peace?
2. How were the ideas of neutrality involved in the years 1793–1812?
3. Compare our blockade of the Confederacy with the German blockade of England.
4. Why does it take less trouble to get a navy into action in a war than an army?

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[1] While our relations with Germany were thus becoming more and more strained, the purchase (March, 1917) of the Danish West Indies greatly strengthened our strategic position in the Caribbean Sea. These islands are of negligible value for their own products, and are wholly dependent upon the United States for a market, and for their imports. But they command the trade routes from Europe to the Panama Canal, and can easily be fortified. The United States has twice previously endeavored to purchase these islands. In 1865 a proposition of Secretary Seward, whereby we were to acquire the islands for $7,500,000, failed of ratification by the Senate; in 1902, Secretary Hay concluded a treaty by which the islands were to become ours upon payment of $5,000,000. German influence is said to have defeated this treaty in the Danish upper house. The third effort proved successful, the price paid being $25,000,000. By wish of the islanders, the ancient name "Virgin Islands" was restored.

CHAPTER L

WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION: "A WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY": THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

465. War against Germany. Between February and April, 1917, the United States waited in hope that even at the last Germany might remove the necessity for war. Instead of this she torpedoed more ships and intrigued in Mexico. On April 2 the new Congress met in special session to hear the President speak for war: —

"We have no quarrel with the German people," he said. "It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering the war. . . . It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined in the old unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interests of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. . . . We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship (for the people of Germany), exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible."

Four days later Congress passed a declaration that a state of war existed with Germany, and pledged all the resources of the country "to bring the conflict to a successful termination."

466. The destroyers at work. In less than a month after the declaration of war the navy was carrying a share of its new burdens. Admiral Sims, with a fleet of swift destroyers, was sent to the British coast to help keep up the tight blockade of Germany that the sturdy British fleet had maintained for nearly three years, and to help keep the ocean pathways clear of submarines and floating mines. Other detachments followed him from time to time. And

at home the shipyards were soon building ships in great numbers to replace those sunk by the submarines.

467. The appeal of Joffre. England and France still held the line unbroken on the Western Front from Switzerland to the North Sea. Italy stood guard along the Alps. Russia still stood firm along the East. All were resolute, but all were weary with the labor of withstanding the pressure of Germany's military machine. They had suspended their civil life, and converted themselves and their factories to war, in order that they might remain free peoples. They welcomed the entry of a strong new nation, and from Britain and France came groups of statesmen and generals to greet the new ally. The French mission included Marshal Joffre, hero of the Marne, and savior of France. His visit recalled the earlier crusade of Lafayette, who in the Revolution had given generously of French courage to our cause of freedom. He stirred the soul of America by his simple eloquence, and when he called for troops to help keep the line in France, the troops were found.

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ADMIRAL SIMS

Whose fleet was on duty in European waters in less than a month after war was declared

468. Pershing in France. On June 26, 1917, the first American division landed in France. Their commander, General John J. Pershing, had preceded them by a few

days, and on the Fourth of July some of them were marched through the streets of Paris, as a visible sign that the democracy of the West was paying its debt to freedom and its first ally. At the tomb of Lafayette Pershing made a simple speech: "The Americans have come."

469. Men. No method of recruiting ever practiced in the past in the United States would have provided enough men for this war. In modern warfare the whole nation is at work, each person where his services are needed most. In our earlier wars, in which smaller armies and less machinery were used, volunteering was our chief method of raising troops. But volunteering is defective because the gallant men who offer themselves first are not always those who can best be spared from the ranks of industry. On April 6, 1917, there were in our military service about 289,000 men (regular army, 127,000; national guard, 80,000; navy and marines, 82,000). By voluntary enlistment this total was raised to more than 1,500,000 within a year. To add to this number, Congress passed on May 18, 1917, a selective service or draft act holding all men between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age liable to service if needed. A few days later 9,659,382 young men registered under this act, and in 1918 there were 750,000 more old enough to be added to the

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GENERAL PERSHING

In command of the American Expeditionary Force, whose first units landed in France June 26, 1917

list. These men were classified according to their health, their family responsibilities, and their business; and from their number more than a million had been drafted into the national army by the following summer. Before the Fourth of July, 1918, more than a million American soldiers were actually in France, or aboard ships going thither.

THE SERVICE FLAG
Each star represents a person in war service

470. Labor. Men in overalls as well as men in uniforms were needed to win the war. Since 1908 the Democrats had had the support of many of the most prominent labor leaders because it was believed that the Republicans were unfriendly to labor organization. The American Federation of Labor came out in loyal support of President Wilson and the war as soon as it was declared, and adopted a policy of avoiding strikes wherever it was possible, in order to prevent the curtailment of production. It was recognized that whoever interfered with industry, whether by asking too high a wage or by refusing to pay a fair wage, whether as workman or as employer, was giving direct aid to Germany.

471. National labor policy. In 1918, after long conferences between the labor organizations and the associations of employers, the National War Labor Board was constituted, with ex-President Taft as its head, assisted by a labor advocate, Frank Walsh. This board took a broad view of the needs of labor, not only for a "living wage," but for a "comfort wage." It settled large numbers of disputes, many of which were caused by sudden increases in the cost of living that were not met by suitable wage increases. Its work was made easier because the United States had taken over the administration of the railroads and telegraphs as a war measure, and was itself operating many munitions factories. Some varieties of industrial work were regarded as quite as useful as service in the army. Men at work in ship-building, for example, were exempt from the draft.

472. Money. Money, too, was needed in this new crusade in greater amounts than ever before. Congress authorized a series of "Liberty Loans" through which the Government borrowed about $12,000,000,000 in the first year of war. War savings stamps added to this amount. A great new tax bill, passed in October, raised $3,672,000,000 more, spreading much of the cost of the war upon large incomes or upon the excess profits of those who were making fortunes out of wartime manufactures. No other country has ever lived so well as the American people, and when the time came for sacrifice it was found that they could cheerfully pay heavy taxes, subscribe to tremendous loans, and still have money to give in huge amounts to the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and other agencies that were formed to care for the soldier sons and brothers of those citizens who could not themselves go to war.

473. Food. All of the Allies were in need of food. Most of them, in ordinary times, had to import some of their food from other countries. Now with their young men in the armies they needed to buy still more; but the German submarines, lying in wait to torpedo cargo ships, destroyed much and hoped to destroy more until they might starve the Allies into submission. "Food will win the War" was the cry of the Government, and patriotic citizens set out to save food, — wheat, meat, sugar, and fats, — so that we might have not only enough for ourselves but enough to feed our Allies. A new branch of the Government was hurriedly formed to direct the saving of food and fuel, and to keep selfish "profiteers" from charging too much for the necessities of life. While our soldiers were drilling in their camps the ships were carrying cargoes of food to England, Italy, and France.

474. Ships. But there were not enough ships for the work, and what there were were decreasing as the submarines took their toll of boats and lives. A new Shipping Board was created to build more ships, and for a time its work

was directed by the great engineer who had just dug the Panama Canal, Major-General George W. Goethals. Many new shipyards were opened, and existing yards were increased in size. The navy was hurrying to make hundreds of destroyers to watch for submarines, and merchant ships were constructed wherever there was room to build and men to work. Four kinds of ships were made. (1) Wooden ships of the sort that had made the Yankee skippers famous at the beginning of the last century were launched in shipyards that had not heard the hammer for half a century. (2) Steel ships were riveted together from plates that kept busy the rolling mills at Pittsburg and the Lakes. (3) Fabricated ships were made of steel, but were made in sections, partly finished at the interior mills and finally assembled at the shipyards. And (4) concrete ships were tried as an experiment, found seaworthy, and built in numbers. In the summer of 1918 the shipping program showed results, with several ships a day sliding into the water, and finished vessels launched in places where a year before there had been only open meadows. More than ninety new ships were launched on the Fourth of July, 1918.

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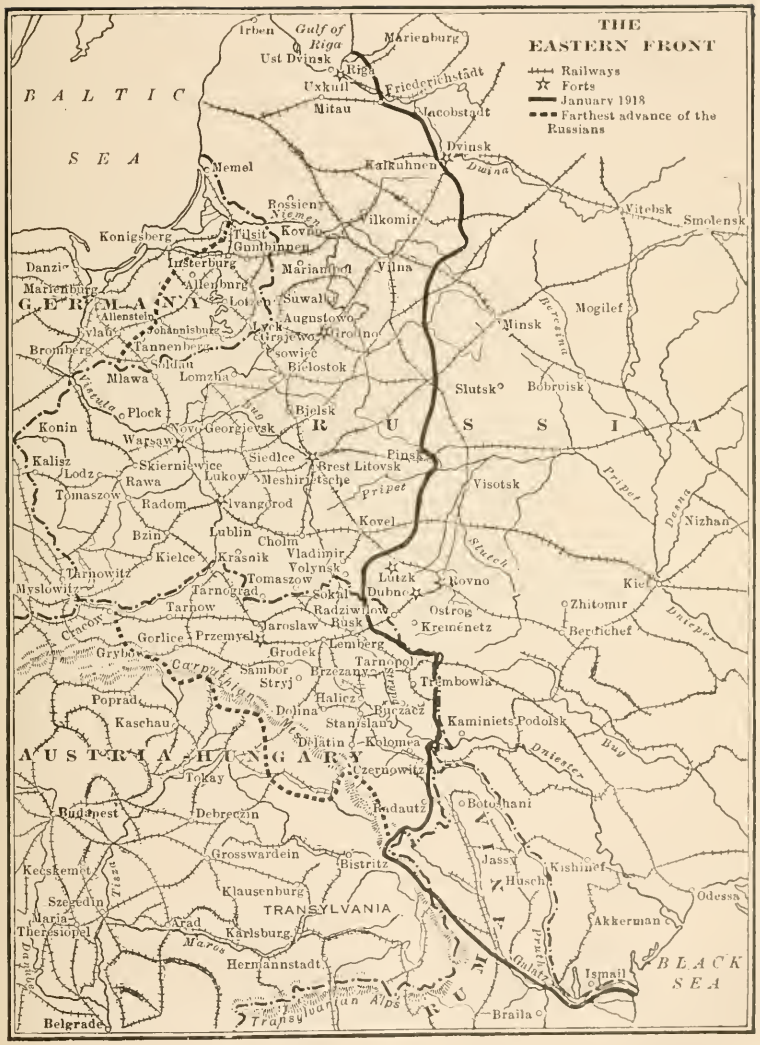
GENERAL GOETHALS
Who built the Panama Canal

475. From cantonments to the base in France. Once we became convinced that we must fight for peace and freedom all sides of life were shaped to win the war. In the summer of 1917 great camps, or cantonments, were built to house over half a million men. Beginning in September the drafted men were called to camp, uniformed, drilled, formed into regiments and divisions; and, as rapidly as ships were ready, were sent to France. The ports from which they sailed, and those at which they landed, were not revealed, lest the Germans should learn about their movements. But at ports "somewhere in France" the army built great har-

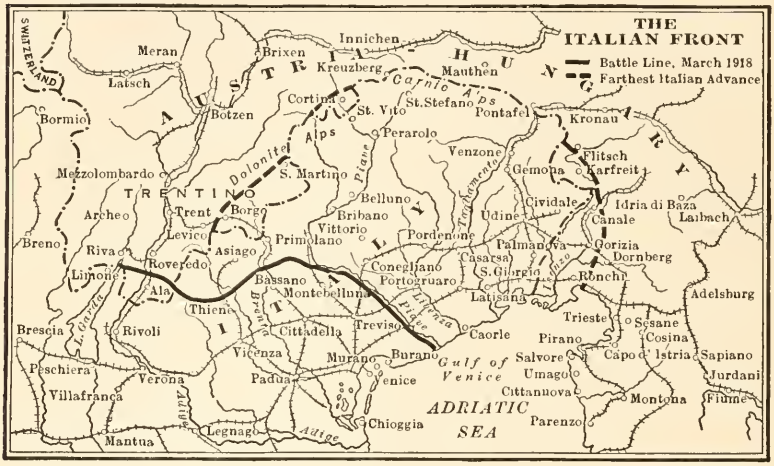
bors and docks, warehouses and hospitals, and a railway nearly five hundred miles in length, so that our army might help itself without being a drain upon the strength and resources of France. In France there were new cantonments and training-schools where the soldiers received their last instructions. Before Christmas many of the troops were standing in the front trenches by the side of comrades who had held back the Germans for three and a quarter years.

476. Russia: delivered and betrayed. There was need for the American troops by the end of 1917, for one of the original Allies, whose deliverance from autocracy had been welcomed, had been betrayed by civil war into the hands of Germany. Russia stood up under the stress of attack upon the Eastern Front for three years, but at the outbreak of war she had been impoverished by the costly and dishonest Government of the Czars; and as the war and losses progressed revolt had come. In March, 1917, a revolution dethroned the Czar Nicholas II, and the Provisional Government proclaimed its determination to stand by its allies; but abandoned the selfish national aims which the former Government had exacted. Once started, the forces of revolt passed beyond the power of the moderate men. Kerensky struggled in vain to keep the Government under control. In November the revolutionist Socialists, who called themselves Bolsheviki, overturned him, cast out all persons of property from a share in the Government, and in a few weeks began a negotiation with Germany for a separate peace. Germany professed to negotiate peace with them, but really robbed the defenseless Bolsheviki and the Russia that they had betrayed. She took from them Poland, the Baltic Provinces, Finland, and Ukraine; trying to leave Russia prostrate and unable even to resist. The troops that she needed no longer on the Eastern Front Germany sent west for another great attempt to break through the line into the heart of France.

477. The appeal to democracy. All through the war the German Government told its subjects that it was fighting


THE
EASTERN FRONT
Railways
Forts
January 1918
Farthest advance of the Russians
BALTIC
SEA
Gulf of Riga
Irben
Ust Dvinsk
Riga
Marienburg
Uxkull
Friedrichstädt
Mitau
Jacobstadt
Dvinsk
Memel
Kalkuhnen
Dwina
Rossieny
Niemen
Vilkomir
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Konigsberg
Tilsit
Kovno
Gumbinnen
Danzig
Insterburg
Marianopol
Vilna
Marienburg
Allenburg
GERMANY
Lotzen
Suwalki
Allenstein
Augustowo
Lyck
Grajewo
Grodno
Minsk
Mogilef
Johannisburg
Tannenberg
Soldau
Bromberg
Kowiec
Bielostok
Mlawa
Lomzha
Slutsk
Bobruisk
Plock
Bjelsk
Konin
Novo Georgievsk
Warsaw
RUSSIA
Kalisz
Skiernievice
Siedlce
Brest Litovsk
Pinsk
Lodz
Lukow
Meshiritschе
Rawa
Visotsk
Tomaszow
Radom
Ivangrod
Kovel
Nizhan
Lublin
Bzin
Cholm
Kielce
Krasnik
Vladimir
Volynsk
Tarnowitz
Tomaszow
Lutzk
Rovno
Kiev
Myslowitz
Tarnograd
Sokal
Dubno
Zhitomir
Tarnow
Radziwilow
Ostrog
Cracow
Jaroslaw
Rusk
Kremenetz
Berdichef
Gorlice
Przemysl
Lemberg
Grybow
Grodek
Tarnopol
Sambor
Przezany
Stryj
Trembowla
Poprad
Halicz
Dolina
Rjczacz
Kaschau
Stanislau
Kaminiets Podolsk
Delatin
Kolomea
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Czernowitz
Tokay
Botoshani
Budapest
Debreczin
Radautz
Grosswardein
Bistritz
Jassy
Kishinef
Kecskemet
Klausenburg
Huschi
Szegedin
TRANSYLVANIA
Odessa
Maria Theresiopel
Arad
Karlsburg
Akkerman
Mares
Hermannstadt
Ismail
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
Transylvanian Alps
Braila
Volga
Dwina
Beresina
Pripet
Desna
Dniester
Bug
Vistula
Theiss
Danube
Pruth
Carpathians

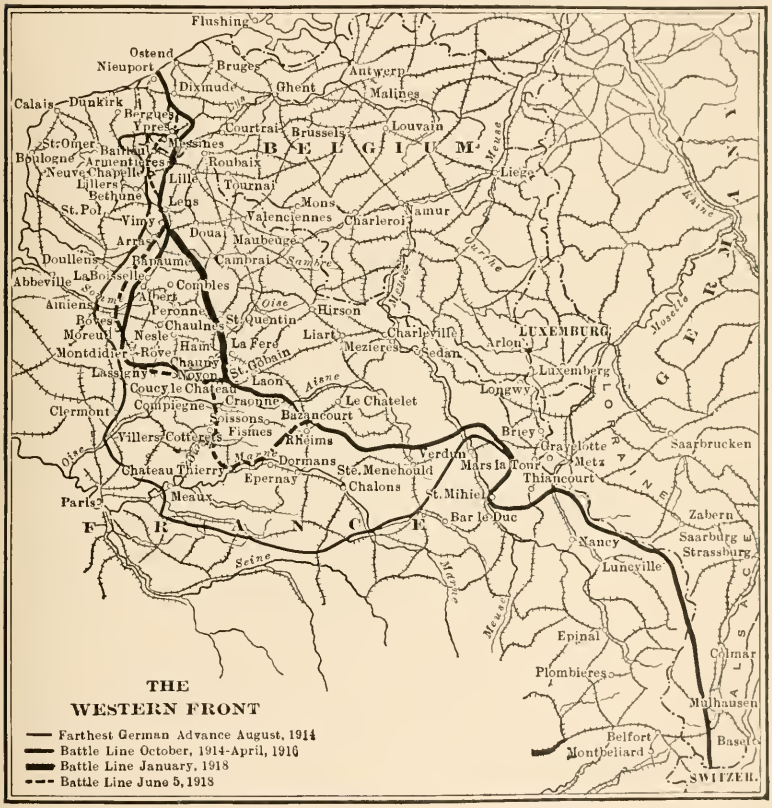
in self defense against the Allies. Before bringing the full force of the United States into the field President Wilson tried once more to show the German people that safety for free government was our single purpose. He assured them that the United States was not fighting to tear Austria



to pieces, or to destroy Germany, but to establish a world in which they and all honorable nations might hope for freedom and safety. He warned them against the course taken by their autocratic leaders. But when there came from Germany and Austria no sign of protest against their rulers, he proclaimed against them, "Force! Force to the uttermost!" and hurried still more troops to France.

478. The German drive of 1918. All through the winter of 1917 Germany strengthened her forces on the Western Front in the hope of beating the Allies before our men could arrive in large numbers. It told its people that America would not fight, but it hastened to end the war in 1918. On March 21 the drive began, in the direction of Paris and against the point in the line where the British and French armies met. For weeks the line swayed back and forth;

but it did not break. To us the call came to send the men at once, for this was the year that might decide the future of the world. And the camps were emptied to meet the call, and more men were drafted to fill the places left vacant in



our camps, and President Wilson promised that we would continue to send men and food in increasing amounts until they should add enough weight to the line to drive the Germans back across the Rhine.

479. Pershing, Foch, and the single front. There had been some American troops in the trenches for several

months before the drive began. Once it was started, General Pershing offered all his force to be used where most needed, by itself or in connection with either the British or the French. Out of this came a great change that encouraged all the Allies. It was agreed that a single general, or "generalissimo," should command all the troops on the Western Front, whatever their nationality. General Foch, who with Marshal Joffre had saved France in 1914, was appointed to the new united command, and the Americans were used all along the line. The blow in March failed to get through. In April the Germans struck at the British in Flanders, and were stopped again. In May they struck again at Paris, pushed through between the glorious cathedral town of Rheims, and Soissons, and with the head of their force touched the river Marne. And there they found, standing between them and their goal a stubborn line of American troops who helped to turn them back.

480. **The War Cabinet.** The united command of the Allied armies under Marshal Foch was the beginning of new vigor and unity for the Allies. In the next few months all of their wealth and resources as well as their soldiers were placed in one common "pool," to be used as needed for the common cause. At Versailles, near Paris, their Supreme War Council directed and supported the main campaigns of Foch, Haig, and Pershing. To assist it other councils were created to divide and share food, money, munitions, and ships. At home, President Wilson began to hold frequent meetings with a group of advisers outside his regular Cabinet, who became popularly known as his "War Cabinet." This group included the chairmen of the War Trade Board (McCormick), War Industries Board (Baruch), and Shipping Board (Hurley), and the directors of the Food Administration (Hoover), Fuel Administration (Garfield), and Railroad Administration (McAdoo).

481. **Château Thierry and the Marne.** On July 15, 1918, the German armies attacked again along the Marne River, hoping still to capture Paris. This time Marshal Foch had

learned in advance where the blow was to be struck, and had prepared for it. He made a counter-attack on July 18, using American divisions near Château Thierry, where the first and second divisions had fought so well in June. Here was the turning-point of the war. Slowly but irresistibly the French and Americans drove the Germans back, between Soissons and Rheims, until by early August they were on a steady retreat. For a second time the enemy had reached the Marne, in vain.

482. Saint-Mihiel and the Argonne. There was new confidence among the Allies in August, 1918. The " bridge of ships " was now pouring " Yanks " into France (244,000 in May, 277,000 in June, 306,000 in July); and at Washington it was decided to place eighty divisions — nearly 4,000,000 men — on the line in the summer of 1919. The draft age (see par. 469) was extended, bringing in all men between eighteen and forty-five. The troops already overseas were finishing their training periods. In September General Pershing conducted an American attack against the salient at Saint-Mihiel, as a preliminary to a larger use of his forces — now well over 1,000,000 men. He was completely successful. On September 26 he began another operation, winning the forest of the Argonne, and pushing in October toward the German railroad line at Sedan. The control of this region by the Allies would throw the whole German army into confusion.

483. The Armistice, November 11, 1918. Before Sedan was reached by the Americans, or Mons by the British (which they were anxious to retake for reasons of sentiment), the Central Powers were aware of their defeat. First Bulgaria, then Turkey, then Austria-Hungary begged for peace and accepted the terms set by the Supreme War Council. Germany was left alone; and in Germany the common people started a revolution against the Kaiser and the military party. On November 9 the Kaiser sought refuge in Holland, and two days later the envoys of the German Government signed an armistice agreement imposed

upon them by the victorious Allies. There were now more than 2,000,000 Americans overseas, with more to come, and with unlimited resources to back them up. The war was won. England, Belgium, and France had saved the world; first by their resistance to the German invasion; then by their patient holding of the line until enough United States troops arrived to turn the tide of battle. No single nation among the Allies won the war, but all of them, united at last in the Supreme War Council. If this could only hold together it would be, as it already was, a League of Nations.

484. President Wilson goes to Paris. A few days after the signing of the armistice, President Wilson announced that he would himself go to Europe, to sit as a member of the Supreme War Council, and to act as an American representative at the Peace Conference. The unity among the Allies that had won the war was largely due to his leadership. He had led in showing to the German and Austrian peoples the crimes of their rulers. He had promised that the United States would be willing to become a partner in the right kind of a League of Nations. And he had stated, in January, 1918, " fourteen points " which were necessary to be included in a fair treaty of peace. All the Allies, and now even the Central Powers, had expressed approval of his fourteen points. He was needed in Paris to help include them in the final treaty. No other President had ever gone to Europe; but no other had ever had need to go. He sailed on the George Washington on December 4, 1918, and was greeted at Paris, Rome, and London as no other American had ever been. To the people of Europe he seemed to represent the miracle that had saved them from Germany, and to promise them that there should be no more wars.

485. The League of Nations. The Peace Conference — including as yet only the Allied nations — held its first session January 18, 1919, after several weeks of conferences among the Allied statesmen and within the Supreme War Council. In a few days the delegates agreed to frame a

League of Nations as a part of the peace treaty, and appointed committees to study this, as well as such other matters as boundaries, reparation, punishment, and labor conditions. On February 14, the outline of the League of Nations was read to the Peace Conference by President Wilson, who was chairman of the committee that drew it up. There started at once, all over the world, an earnest discussion as to whether there ought to be a League of Nations and whether this was the best possible kind. The next day President Wilson started back to the United States.

486. The Death of Theodore Roosevelt. On January 6, 1919, Theodore Roosevelt, the greatest private American citizen, died. Since the death of General Grant in 1885 (see par. 383), no American had left so many of his fellow-citizens with a sense of grief and loss. After his retirement from the presidency in 1909, Colonel Roosevelt's judgment had been sought in every crisis; and through his whole career he had stood for good government as he saw it, for clean life and high ideals. He proudly wore four stars in his service pin during the Great War, and when his youngest son was killed in action, his loss was the nation's. He was buried as a quiet country gentleman, near his home at Oyster Bay, with members of the New York police force that he had loved and served on guard at his grave, and with aviators circling above and strewing flowers over it.

487. The Eighteenth Amendment. A new amendment to the Constitution was proclaimed in January, 1919. This was commonly known as the "dry" amendment, and had been urged by temperance reformers for many years. Many of the States had already excluded alcoholic drinks by their own action, and under the principles of local option and prohibition most of the area of the country was dry. Under the new amendment the manufacture, sale, transportation, import, or export of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes was prohibited. This will become effective January 16, 1920.

488. Problems of Reconstruction. The visit of Presi-

dent Wilson to France was cut short by the need to sign bills and assist Congress in its closing days. Congress suffered in his absence, from the uncertainties of the future, and from the anger of some of its members because he had left the United States. The elections of November, 1918, assured a Republican majority in the House of Representatives after March 4, 1919; and members of the Republican party tried to block laws so as to leave the whole business of reconstruction to a Congress that they might dominate. No other war had so greatly upset the life of ordinary people. Russia, Germany, and Austria were in revolution. The problem of reconstruction was whether revolution should spread over all the world, or whether the discontent producing revolution should be lightened by wise laws. Food was high and work was scarce. New laws were needed to help business, education, and labor and to protect all persons in their rights in life. The war had been fought to make it possible for democratic government to exist. President Wilson believed that a firm foundation for peace was the first end to be gained. He remained in Washington long enough to approve the necessary laws; went to New York, where he and the only living ex-President, William H. Taft, pleaded for a League of Nations; and then sailed again on March 5, 1919, for Paris and the Peace Conference.

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